What the Anti-Imperialists Want.

Resolutions offered by Senator Bacon on February 6, 1899:

"Resolved further, That the United States hereby disclaim any disposition or intention to exercise permanent sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said islands and assert their determination when a stable and independent government shall have been erected therein entitled, in the judgment of the government of the United States, to recognition as such, to transfer to said government, upon terms which shall be reasonable and just all rights secured under the cession by Spain and to thereupon leave the government and control of the islands to their people."

Defeated by chairman's vote cast for the negative—yeas, 29; nays, 29; not voting, 32. Feb. 14, 1899.

Resolution offered by Congressman S. W. McCall, of Massachusetts, June 26, 1902:

"In this first organic act, creating a civil government for the Philippine Islands, it is hereby solemnly declared to be the settled purpose of the Con-

gress to extend to the inhabitants of those islands every aid in enabling them to develop the capacity for self-government, and when such capacity shall have been developed, we pledge the faith of the Republic to confer upon them the right of self-government after the fashion of the really free nations."

Defeated Yeas, 97; nays, 137; answer present, 7; not voting, 110.

Senator Wm. B. Mason,

of Illinois, speech in Senate June 2, 1902:

"For three years and a half I have asked the question in this chamber: Why have one plan in Cuba, that brings honor and peace and makes them our friends, and another plan in the Philippines? Yet I have not had an answer.

"I hope I had, I think I had, high conceptions of my duty to the people; yet I never would have voted for the treaty if it had not been the open and notorious understanding that we were to have a vote upon a resolution on the same day, declaring our intention to give the Philippines self government as soon as, in the opinion of the people of the United States, they were equal to the task. I believed then and believe now that that promise, similar to the one we made to the Cubans, would have prevented war with the natives of the Philippine Islands."

Jacob Gould Schurman,

from "The Philippines Again."—*The Independent* May 8, 1902:

"What, I ask you, do you want in the Philippines? More particularly, why in any part of Luzon and the Visayan Islands are you making a howling wilderness and killing children oven ten years of age? It will be said that these are the unhappy incidents of war, which is always a stern affair, very different from the holiday-making into which civilians would turn it. Be it so. Why, then, are we making war? Here are 6,500,000 fellow Christians of ours—the only Christian nation in Asia—as highly civilized as most of the people of Central and South America. *What do we want of them? We have never told them.*

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It is said officially that the fighting is over. But the commanding officers agree with the best newspaper reporters that the Christian Filipinos are everywhere against us. And the War Department has stated in confirmation of this situation that the retention of a large army in the Philippines is indispensable. But if this be so, tho the insurrection may be ended, the Archipelago is as full of our enemies as ever it was. You have governed them against their will; behold the result. Shall we make of the Philippines an American Ireland—an Ireland consumed with hatred for us, governed by coercion and bent on rebellion?

Thank God, there is a more excellent way. Drop coercion and try conciliation. Give the Filipinos what *they* want, not what you think is good for them. Regard them not as Sioux or Apache Indians, but as Christianized and civilized brown men, ranking with the Japanese. General Otis said to the Senate Committee that they could, if we withdrew, at least maintain a military government; and with the sedition law before you can you say we are doing much better? Governor Taft is reported as saying at New Haven that, if we conferred independence upon them, power would fall into the hands of the educated classes; but is an intelligent oligarchy of Filipinos worse than an intelligent oligarchy of Americans?

I was in Ireland last month when the cities of Dublin and Cork conferred their freedom upon the leader of the Nationalist party. His speech on those occasions was printed in full in the newspapers, and one sentence of it still rings in my ears. "There are," he said, "only two methods of government—that of freedom and that of force; and Ireland has shown for centuries that the latter is permanently impossible." The remedy for our Philippine ills is to substitute a government by the consent of the Filipinos for a government by the coercion of the Filipinos."

For copies, address the Anti-Imperialist League of New York, 150 Nassau Street.